BOOK REVIEW

BRICKS OF SHAME by Vivien Stern Penguin £3.95

Since 1963 when this country's prison system ceased to be the responsibility of the Prison Commissioners and became another responsibility of the Home Office a bad situation has become progressively worse. The problem of overcrowding has been addressed by a succession of Home Secretaries. All their attempted solutions have failed to reverse the trend, which is still that prisons become ever more overcrowded.

The prison system is an enclosed one with no interplay between those serving sentences and those in the community at large, because keeping them apart from the community has become a purpose of imprisonment.



Because of public attitudes to their work, prison staff tend to form their own largely exclusive social groups, with the result that there is almost no experience of prisons among the population ar large.

Indeed first hand experience of the inside of prisons is limited in the hierarchy which runs them. At the top of the hierarchy is the Home Secretary with career civil servants in the Home Office responsible for central administration. We can trace the structure downwards through governors and senior officers who act as management in individual prisons, Boards of Visitors, probation staff and medical staff, prison officers (screws) and the prisoners themselves. Of this hierarchy only the governors and their staff spend any significant amount of time inside prisons. Boards of Visitors are appointed from outside and pay occasional visits as a nominal public watchdog over the system, but they have largely become creatures of the prison system. Probation and medical staffs spend most of their working time elsewhere. So the only staff with regular and extensive contact with prisoners are the screws. They have been allowed to develop a system of working which calls for large levels of overtime to be worked. Because of their key position in the system, the only group with substantial prisoner contact, they can sabotage any suggested reforms which might threaten their working patterns and their overtime earnings. And they do.

One example is their successful resistance to attempts to use other personnel to accompany remand prisoners to court, clearly because this is a job which is personnel intensive, it makes a change from their usual work, and because to give it up would release large numbers of prison staff for prison duties with a consequent fall in the amount of overtime required.

Another problem which seems to militate against a solution of the problem of overcrowding is the system of local and dispersal prisons. Generally the dispersal prisons, where those serving longer sentences are held, are not suffering severe overcrowding of their accommodation. The local prisons, holding prisoners serving shorter sentences are the most severely overcrowded. Leicester prison is at 197% capacity, which is a bureaucratic way of saying it contains as near as dammit twice as many prisoners as it was built for. To seek to solve the problem of overcrowding by encouraging a policy of shorter sentences will make it worse, at least in the short term, because a larger proportion of those sentenced will go into those prisons where the overcrowding as already at its worst.

Whichever way one looks at the prison system, the crisis it is in hows no likelihood of improvement, never mind solution. Vivien Stern's book is a splendid analysis of the inevitability with which the system is approaching a breakdown. For allthe examples of resistance by prisoners we have seen in recent years the method of containment by repression continues to be applied and continues to provide further breathing spaces. This book gives an account of the many solutions attempted and the consistent way they have been sabotaged, either actively by the action of the screws, or passively by the nature of the system. Such books always seem to me to be infinitely depressing. They are written by good and well intentioned people who can demonstrate that all attempts to reform a barbaric system have failed and will apparently continue to fail. But there is a marked reluctance to adopt the anarchist solution that seems to offer itself most immodestly from their work, that prisons and the system of imprisoning our fellows should be scrapped.

Peter Miller

IN MEMORY

Kuwasi Balagoon was a member of the Black Panther Party, which he joined in 1968—a few months before the arrest of the 'Panther 21' on trumped-up charges of armed



robbery. He was sentenced to ten years, and escaped from Trenton State jail six years later, but was recaptured and sentenced again for participating in the Black Liberation Army's attempted taking of a Brinks Armoured car, in 1981. He was sentenced to 75 years—but died of pneumonia in Secember last 1986.

Said Kuwasi Balagoon: 'In all, without taking into account pending indictments, I've had 83 felony charges. All but two against police, jailers or money changers... if this isn't war, it's the best I can do.'

He proclaimed himself proudly 'a revolutionary anarchist involved in war against the United States ruling class and believing in self-determination.' He stated that he became an anarchist after reviewing his experience while in prison in the early 70s but 'had been at war against this government before then... to accept fascism is to forfeit life'. It is fair to say he would have differed from us in that he believed he could 'fight along with Nationalists and Marxists until he could play an active role in an anarchist formation.' Nationalists and Marxists (nowadays read Nationalists as professional adventurers and Marxists as student leaders) will always use fighters like him, and discard them when they can, and how can an anarchist formation ever be formed when its natural pioneers are hiving off into middle-class dominated outfits? We mourn the death of Kuwasi Balagoon: we must organise the anarchist formation he looked forward to throughout the years of jail and struggle.

BOOK REVIEW 2

THE RETURN OF EVA PERON
V. S Naipaul (£1.45) ISBN 0 14005293.

Naipaul starts by justifying the State execution of Michael X in Trinidad and lampooning the 'racial cliches' and hustling of the Black Power militants. He then moves on to larger scale 'madness' of Peronism and ridicules the guerrilla resistance to Argentine state terrorism. he ends in Mobutu's Zaire where the cult of Africanisation urges him to more excoriating scorn. Written during the early 70s when the author was unable to produce any novels, he ends up with an appreciation of Joseph Conrad (who wrote The Secret Agent caricaturing anarchism) and who defines the novelist's purpose for him as to 'mediate upon the world and wonder'.

Bizarrely he despairs of those petty and larger tyrants as 'nihilistic'—an insult to those Russians who believed that Czarist State despotism could be modified by assassination. Like Conrad, he seems to 'know many societies by their externals, but he knew none in depth'. His eye for details diverts the reader's attention away from his basic line that States or leaders who have acted immorally should be replaced—presumably through parliamentary election—by nicer states and leaders.

Unlike Eric Blair/George Orwell, the 'failed mandarin', Naipaul is in his lifetime adored by the Sunday Times, New Society and other 'democratic institutions'. He has carved out for himself a role as megaphone for the anxious writers who see perils to 'civilisation' and nature and want to be paid for enduring their visions. Meanwhile the rest of us primitives and proletarians will continue to resist all hierarchies, be they barbarous, socialist, religious or literary.

PM.

SURVEYS

We intend to publish further supplements in the form of theoretical and historic surveys, covering matters which have been neglected, either totally or in recent years. In a way this is not so much an extension of BLACK FLAG as a different, entirely theoretical paper, which our movement badly needs since the ending of our Quarterly and the previous Cienfuegos Press Review. The first, correcting the historical record as laid out down by the renegade Woodcock and by FP Centennial issue, has been variously received, some saying 'great, at last' and a sizeable few 'what does it matter anyway?' There may well be the same reaction, for different reasons to other of our supplements; we'll see. The first is on Religion and Anarchism and appears as the next issue. It will be followed by Anarchism and class struggle, Anarchism and the Police, Anarchism and drugs, even just Anarchism. Watch for them—they'll all be in the coming eighteen months, if they don't become a regular separate feature.

The 'Unofficial' Enemy Within

Continued from page 4

discussion on all matters of Defence.

Many ISC members were also previous members of the Information Research Department. This State Department was first set up in 1947 by Christopher Mayhew. The IRD was a blatant propaganda arm, put together to fight the Cold War. It supplied the TUC, for example with anti-Communist briefing papers for use by pro-establishment trade union leaders. The head of the IRD during the period 1953-58 (the height of the Cold War period) was Sir John Rennie, later to become head of MI6. Another function of the IRD was to supply news stories (many of them false or doctored) to news agencies around the world. The IRD continued this function for many years using 'journalists' (with assumed names), such as Crozier from the ISC. The IRD also for a time used the *Observor's* Foreign News Service, which it tried (unsuccessfully) to buy, to put out stories for world consumption.

The IRD was finally closed in 1977, but its activities were supervised unofficially for a while afterwards by Ray Whitney an MI5 officer and a leading light in the Coalition for Peace Through Security. During his stint in the IRD, Whitney was put in control of the Counter-Subversion Fund (initially set up to fund private armies), which he later used to help set up the CFPTS. Whitney was also for a while on the Board of the IEDSS. He is now a Junior Health Minister in the Thatcher Government.

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BLACK FLAG

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FOR ANARCHIST RESISTANCE

11-5-87

Unemployment

THATCHERS `FINAL SOLUTION'

There are two allegedly separate proposals being floated in Government circles: both of them seemingly innocent reforms to those not thinking themselves affected by either. Put together they represent an advance on all previous forms of repression but yet maintain a civilised face.

'Workfare' is one: electronic tagging for paroled or probationed, even remand prisoners, is another. Both not only appear to have attractions for the liberal — they *are* totalitarian liberalism with parliamentary trappings and constitutional consent. Isn't it 'reasonable' that people who decline to work should have to do something to earn their keep, even if it's only digging holes and filling them up again? Surely they don't expect something for nothing?

Electronic tags is something we warned our readers about on the basis of Black Cross contacts in Florida where it started. Now a House of Commons select committee recommends using it here 'to reduce the prison population' by letting them stay in their own homes, but be tagged by electronic devices. The prisons are becoming overcrowded because so much is criminalised — an effect seen in fascist countries, where the prisons became overcrowded and concentration camps were needed. House arrest is less for preventing crime but more for involving more people in a controlled situation

This has to be seen in context of the Public Order Act, the first stage in the knock-on plan of reducing us all to controlled docility. Public demonstrations will lead to mass arrests, among those least likely to commit what are normally called criminal acts and of whom no one pretends prison can have a rehabiliating effect.

With large-scale remandsof demonstrators, their movements — and indirectly those of their associates — tagged. With a personalised signal (like a National Insurance number) and added to a central dossier, the power of the government becomes enormous, especially when one thinks that a few years ago it would have been unheard of that British trade union activity could have been regarded as outside the law.

It does not lesson the prison population, it enables it to be extended to the rest of the population. It is clear that those thinking of electronic supervision of those pending conviction or coming to the end of a sentence are also thinking of criminalising 'wilful unemployment' — which can well mean just slaving away at a dead-end job undercutting other workers, or doing tasks no one will undertake.

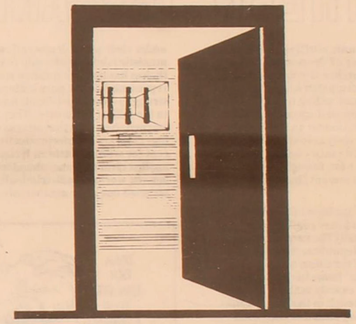
With protests, union manifestations, unemployment, all linked with crime and the penalty of electronic tagging, the State would have powers equal to any tyranny with ball and chain and brand mark, yet it would appear to have a civilised face. 'we are not sending these people to concentration camps, we are just making sure they don't get into any mischief,' the Parliamentary dictators will say.

But will they *not* concentrate 'offenders' into camps? We revealed in *Black Flag* some three years ago that there were secret plans for setting up army camps for prisoners. Now the national press noticing it makes it news. We reported that the first camp will be Rollerstone on Salisbury Plain. This is now the case The camps are to be used for 'less serious' offenders or for activists/pickets arrested during times of unrest. These are people who would normally be remanded on bail, but the camps will add a third, psychologically important, dimension to imprisonment. The creation of work camps for the unemployed will become a regular feature of the slave new world.

The knock-on effect of one piece of repressive legislation after another has to be seen as part of a whole. At first, outrageous proposals are floated as a piece of 'extremism' by the hooligan right; then they become a source of serious discussion by the 'wets' and a counter-measure is put forward, finally the composite emerges as Tory policy. Because of the populist appeal of each individual item (stops crime, stops the illegal immigrants, wipes out Aids etc) it gradually become lunacy to oppose it, according to the media. Then the SDP/Liberal Alliance embraces it cautiously, finally the Labour Party says it was their policy all along, and too much opposition will harm them electorally. But it has nothing to do with party politics, everything to do with a struggle against the State.

As in all forms of tyranny, this knock-on scheme to electronically tag us or to force us into camps, or to forced labour

Continued on page 6



ACTION FOR SLAVERY

Job Training Scheme

. . .Don't get taken in ! . . .

DEATH FOR GODS WOULD-BE ASSASINS

On 24 March a final appeal against death sentences hanging over two comrades of the 'East Asian Anti-Japan Armed Front' was rejected by the Supreme Court of Tokyo.

Incredibly, no one knows if the sentences have been carried out or not as we go to press as friends and relatives of the condemned men won't be told the date of execution until after the event. Not even the condemned men themselves know the date.

The two comrades, Daidoji (38), and Masunaga (38), were both arrested with seven others in 1975 and later convicted of involvement in a bombing campaign against Japanese institutions and business interests between 1971-1975.

The 'East Asian Anti-Japan Armed Front' — an underground guerrilla group — grew out of the rapid growth of the student and labour movement during the latter half of the sixties following opposition to the Vietnam War. It comprised both Anarchists and Marxists disillusioned with traditional political parties on the one hand, and various Trotskyist vanguards (including the 'Japanese Red Army') on the other.

Their first major 'action' was the bombing of the Mitsubishi company office in Tokyo in 1974, resulting tragically in the death of several passers-by. A further action was the attempted assassination of the Emperor of Japan, who is looked upon as a God by a large section of the population of Japan. Of the seven others, one — the anarchist Saito — committed suicide; three were released after Palestinian guerrillas hijacked a plane in Dacca; one is on the run; one received a life sentence and another received an eight-year sentence.

There is a slim chance that international pressure could save the lives of Daidoji and Masunaga. Direct protests to your nearest Japanese embassy or write letters demanding a reprieve to:

Mr Endo, Ministry of Justice, Kasunigaseki, Tokyo, JAPAN.

NB. A 'Free Omori' demonstration was held outside the Japanese Embassy in London on 29 April. Interestingly, the Embassey had closed down for the day, presumably as a direct result of the threatened demonstration. An inpromptu demo was therefore stage outside JAL Airlines offices off Oxford Street instead.

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For a social system based on mutual aid and voluntary co-operation – against State control and all forms of government and economic oppression. To establish a share in the general prosperity for all – the breaking down of racial, religious, national and sex barriers – and to fight for the life of one world.

HOME NEWS

Welcome To The Police State

On the morning of Thursday 26.3.87 about 30 police were involved in simultaneous raids on three premises in Hastings and St Leonards. All three were the homes of local people involved in 'Poison Pen'/animal rights/anarchism. During these raids police took away large amounts of material and arrested 6 people. The police had search warrants issued by a local magistrate (Michael Humphrey Chaloner, 4 Hamilton Gardens, Hastings. tel: Hastings 429179 (home); 439425 (office). Deputy chairman, no less!) granted upon information given by Detective Inspector Paul Miller allowing them to search for:

things which there is reasonable cause to believe have been used or are intended for use without lawful excuse to destroy or damage property belonging to another or to destroy or damage any property in a way likely to endanger the life of another and material and articles which have been used or are intended for use in connection with threats to cause damage and material and articles which have been used or are intended to incite or attempt to incite others to do so. Section 6 of the Criminal Damage Act 1971.

Amongst the stuff taken was: typewriters, a duplicator, duplicator ink, staplers, stables, and other printing equipment. This is quite clearly an act of political repression aimed at silencing 'Poison Pen'. It has failed. We will not be silenced. We will not be intimidated.

Also peoples personal belongings were ransacked and removed by the police including personal papers, diaries, letters, birthday cards, artwork, photographs etc. etc. This is the sort of disgusting behaviour that even establishment politicians and journalists recognize as oppression if it happens in Russia or South Africa—so what if it happen here?

On the lighter side other items taken included—a shoulder bag, two pairs of kitchen scissors, a bag a marbles (presumably the police had lost theirs), a stuffed foxed head(!?!) and cassettes (probably for use during the odd orgies which occur in all police station canteens during the wee small hours).

The six people arrested were held at Hastings police station for seven hours and then released without being charged but the have been bailed to go back to the police station at the end of May. In the meantime the police will not return any of the items they have stolen from people.

It seems that the police have told the local papers that these raids and arrests are in connection with certain acts of damage to property which have occurred recently; if that is the case why is it that nobody was questioned about anything other than 'Poison Pen' who wrote what, who prints it etc, etc.?

Do you think we live in a free country? You had better wake up—they might come for you next. Support each other. Stay strong. Resist the system.

NORTHERN IRELAND : THE POISONED CHALICE

While Paisley mounts scuffles and conflicts against the sell-out of Protestants in the North by the Thatcher Government, the IRA has remounted a campaign against the same Government for not selling out to the Loyalists. The same proposed agreement with Dublin on the solution to an 'Irish problem' of their own invention has driven the Unionists into conflict and thus put – one would have thought – the Nationalists in agreement; but matters are not so simple.

The IRA feels it has been outmanoeuvred; it is already in bitter conflict with other 'armies' equally the vanguards of Nationalism and Republicanism, not all so keen on the role of the Church. There is always a 'moderate' home for Nationalist Catholics to go to, exactly as there is in the Irish Republic—though in the North it masquerades as working class and calls itself Social Democratic & Labour, in the South it is openly middle class and borrows names from the mythology of past glories. There Republicanism triumphant obtains the blessing of the State and aligns with capitalism. The IRA regards itself a 'socialist' force and uses the language of rebellion. Yet the highest aim of Northern republicans is to assimilate with the South, only by way of apology does the militant republican refer to some sort of idealised different republic superseding the republic and the union and when one analyses it, it comes down to social democracy and laborism as seen in the UK.

While the Loyalists rant and call for armed struggle, using the language of past military glories, the IRA has re-asserted its military credibility by which it hopes to retain Irish working class support. It less frequently bombs the Irish, or for that matter the British, worker indiscriminately; realising at last that military attacks upon the working class do not gain working class support. At last it turns its attention to the top civil servants of the Thatcher administration, who have at least more responsibility for the situation, whatever it is, than a 'Protestant' who doesn't go to the church but does go to a pub.

To show it's not a spent force—to be put aside as the Officials have been put aside under their social democratic and communistic labour leadership (which nevertheless has not relinquished working-class representation for pure national struggle)—the Provisionals have returned to the military offensive. They have almost learned the lesson that attacks on the working- class are counterproductive, and (except for within Northern Ireland, mostly against rival factions) abandoned war against workers indiscriminately, and have targeted one after another (six at the moment of writing) senior civil servants. We say 'almost' learned the lesson because the sending of explosive packets by the post, by putting post workers at risk, is an anti-working class offensive target as much as air bombing.



People in glasnosts . . .

While the Paisleyites and the Provisionals seek to show their Government that they can't sell them short from two opposite directions, the London Government carries on talking to the Dublin Government to decide who's going to pick up the poisoned chalice. With their joint membership of the Common Market, with their joint economic partnership in all matters affecting the capitalist hegemony, with them both having sold out to multi-national enterprise long since, and with the clergy all committed to the faith of Mammon, it doesn't really matter except from a purely political point of view, whether the oppressor is going to be in Dublin or London, or the rebels are going to be republicans or loyalists, Catholic or Protestant.

Reconciliation within the Northern Irish community is something that all pay lip-service to, and everybody sneers at because it is seen as a sickening compromise to let the ruling class carry on in tranquillity. The moneymaking classes want tranquillity because it is the mother of order which brings prosperity. Everyone sees this, and some follow it hopefully, some toss it aside as surrender to the State, which it can well be. But if Northern Ireland is to go forward to a new social order it needs concord within the working class—no type of socialism, except State oppression, can expect to succeed while workers in the society fight and hate workers in the same society.

Many are saying the same things—talking about factory take overs, street committees, workers militias, community defence—but it is all bedevilled by division. Though talks go on between religious communities, between governments, between political parties, worker does not discuss with worker . Yet there is a body of trusted representatives, of both sides, hardened in struggle, their attachment to their causes established to satisfaction, with time on their hands, able to discuss with one another what—if any—is to be the future—we refer to the prisoners, men and women, from all sides in the fighting.

Whatever their views on where their loyalties lie, the State is treating them the same; instead of seeking separate tribal status in captivity, they might come up with a peace plan based upon workers' unity. There is nothing unlikely about such talks—when it comes to discussions between rival sides regarding extortion (which is to say illegal taxation) the business instincts of rival idealists have managed to come up with some highly practical compromises. If rationality can prevail in accommodation for capitalism, it should be able to prevail in at least discussing a workers' free and undivided society in Northern Ireland; if this is a pipe dream, at least it's a better one than the dream that the Dublin or London governments, whichever picks up the poisoned chalice, care a damn for anyone except themselves.

TODAY—well, perhaps tomorrow

I could hardly believe my tired eyes. There was in front of me on the main street cartoon pictures of the leaders of the three main British political parties being hung, with large letters reading WOULD YOU BE BETTER OFF WITH A HUNG PARLIAMENT? Next morning it was replaced. To be a photographer or a revolutionary you have to be quick on your feet. Eddie the Ready

QUESTION AND ANSWER ON ANARCHISM

Q. What do you understand by anti-imperialism?

A. This is a word that is undergoing a sea-change. When Imperialism was understood as powerful Nation-States building up by colonial expansion, the meaning of *anti*-imperialism was clear. Its support came from Anarchists and Nationalists (of small oppressed nations). Socialists were divided: many, following Marx, thought that the industrial nations were 'progressive' and they supported colonial expansion especially in America and Germany though regarding Russian expansion as reactionary since Tsarist Russia was 'barbaric'. Rural life was to them 'idiotic'. Other Socialists, with a natural regard for colonial or nationally oppressed countries, or for Socialist Parties existing there, were inevitably anti-imperialist.

Anarchists worked alongside anti-Imperialists for instance in struggles against the French, Belgian and British empires. When Tsardom was overthrown and Russia became the Marxist homeland, Communist Parties moved in on the anti-Imperialist struggle. The Leninists cited nations like Finland, whose Socialists had become anti-Imperialists, and during Tsardom been accepted by Lenin, to show that Marxists were anti-Imperialists too, guaranteed by Lenin himself, though Finnish nationalism had since decayed into fascism.

America was as regarded as democratic and anti-imperialist by Marxists; indeed the supreme example of progressive capitalism. After World War I the American capitalists went into a panic over Russia and radicalism (perhaps it was really American workers they were frightened of) and Americanism became the symbol of anti-Communism. The US backwoods Christians set the tone for anti-communism, but America became wooed once more as the great democratic power when it suited the interests of the Soviet Union to have a counterbalance against revived German Imperialism.

In the years of the Popular Front anti-Imperialism became a dirty word among the Left. With the nationalists (of small nations) and a few left socialist groupings (like the ILP in this country) Anarchists stood by the colonial struggle, though as their numbers had been reduced by the inter-war decline in confidence of workers, this was mostly individual actionism. Nevertheless, as a by-product of years of agitation, the circumstances of World War II brought overwhelming victory to anti-Imperialism. Sooner or later every vestige of empire was swept away which was as much as anyone expected of anti-imperialism.

Anarchists had always gloomily predicted that when the Nationalists took over they would speedily prove as oppressive as the former States, and so it was. Most notoriously in South Africa where the end of British imperialism meant domination by the ruling white tribe, most ironically in India where mystic pacifism became a militarism power by genocide; most pathetically in Nigeria where people who had been libertarians in adversity became authoritarians in triumph.

Today the empires that seemed so great lost all their influence during the war. Those who succeeded to empire were the Nation-States never described as 'imperialists' and which do not give their emperors crowned eagles—America and the Soviet Union. The new phrases Soviet Imperialism, American Imperialism, would have sounded strangely once, though they were always justified. If all this is understood, then we are anti-imperialists in the same way as ever.

We find however that this all this is not always understood even among some Anarchists (especially in Germany). Since the term 'anti-imperialism' has become a weasel word in the Left, and a synonym for anti-Americanism, it glosses over the crimes of the Russian Empire (the wheel has come full circle). Whenever we see the word 'anti-imperialism' nowadays we sniff at it carefully before opening the package, not as one would for explosives, but to see if the milk has gone sour.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BRAZILS BITTER HARVEST

A few months after the end of more than twenty years military dictatorship, Jose Sarney found himself the reluctant President of Brazil. The major policy developed and partially implemented by his administration was known as the Cruzado Plan, with three parts: a freeze on prices, the raising of wages and the reducing of inflation. For a period things moved towards stabilisation. To enable his political position to be consolidated, an election was held in November 1986.

The Democratic National Union Party (a typical social-democratic party, in the old sense) swept the boards in the election, taking 22 out of 23 governorships and gaining an overall majority in congress.

Following two weeks of secret sessions the Cruzado Plan was scrapped and new severe economic and social policies announced by the Finance Minister. All essential items such as food, prices, transport and rent had been increased by 100% and more.

The Workers' Response

The next few weeks saw demonstrations across Brazil, mainly trade union organised. In Brasilia, the so-called futuristic capital, 20,000 took to the streets and in battles with the police at least three police vehicles as well as State supermarkets had been set on fire. It was by and large both the public sector workers and the shanty town dwellers who carried through these actions. There were similar actions in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo.

In early December two major strikes organised and co-ordinated by the two union federations dominated the social scene. At the Volkswagen plant, 30,000 workers walked out. The following Friday a 24 hour general strike took place against the Government's anti-working-class policies caused by the 75.4 billion debt owed to world finance. The response by the State was twofold: to get the union leaders to sell out; and to use the armed forces, including the entire military, tank battalions and all.

International Call for support

One of the unions involved was the League of Railway Workers, which is part of the Brazilian Workers Federation/International Workers Association.

All sections of the IWA were requested to organise demonstrations and acts of solidarity. On Feb 17 members of DAM (British section of the IWA) demonstrated outside the Embassy of Brazil in Green Street, London. The staff were out of touch with what was happening in their own country—a spokesperson even said the events didn't happen and 'anyway, there aren't any railways in Brazil'. (Brazil jumped the rail age to the air age and most transport is aviation or inland waterway, but since 1971 there has been a railway in Sao Paulo, and a federal railway has operated since 1984 over 23,591 km).

Globo TV

"There are three major powers in Brazil: the armed forces, the church and TV Globo", is a favourite saying in Brazil. The TV channel, the fourth largest earning channel in the world, is owned by the Marhinho family. Roberto Marhinho is the patriarch who through the years has gained almost complete monopoly of the electronic media. As well as full-hearted support to the military dictatorship, who staged the coup in 1964, it is prone to ignore or distort social or other industrial actions. News coverage is guided from on high, thus ensuring that not too much gets out to the foreign media either about industrial unrest or the land reform campaign.

Latest news is that the Brazilian government has refused to pay off its debts to foreign banks, which run into billions, the largest foreign debts of any country in the world.

HEADS WILL ROLL...

As the trial of Stefano della Chiaie, Italy's most notorious neo-fascist, draws closer, everyone is asking how far will he collaborate with the Italian authorities and to what extent will he keep his mouth shut about their involvement. Already his woman friend has been given orders from the pint-size fascist to name names compiled from a notebook if anything happens to him while 'on remand'. With more than two decades at the centre of State-sponsored terrorism and drug trafficking, there must be many prominent politicians, high ranking police officers and generals round the globe, praying they won't be named in the 'little black book'.

The first charge delle Chiaie faces relates to the assassination of Vittorio Ocorssio on Italian soil in July 1976. Though he has a long been the prime suspect, what is not so well known is that the machine gun he used for murder belonged to the Spanish police.

According to 'Cambio 16' (Spain) the gun in question, serial no. 2.2000981 had allegedly been given to him by a a policeman named 'Angel' belonging to the SECED, a State security agency setup by Spain's Ministry of the Interior , which must be put up in light of Spain's constant refusal to extradite him and his friends to face charges of bombings by fascists over a number of decades.

One request by Italian magistrates dated 4th February 1981 demanding the extradition of Salvatore Francia, a close associate of King Rat della Chiaie, was refused by Spanish authorities on the grounds that any crimes alleged to have been committed by Francia in Italy were 'of a political nature'. Clearly della Chiaie's most recent arrest (see No.169) is threatening to become acutely embarrassing for more and more of the highly placed.


DELLE CHIAIE

DIRECT ACTION ON INCREASE IN TORONTO

The following article is from Front Line News, which is the newsletter of the Animal Liberation Front Support Group (Canada). For the past several months, since the Fall/Winter of 1986, Animal Liberation Front activity has increased dramatically against the property of animal exploiters in Toronto. These actions have all been aimed at property destruction rather than the actual liberation of animals, but the effects nonetheless have left their mark on those involved in their slaughter, specifically for fur and meat. 'Fast food' establishments have as well been on the receiving end, in particular, McDonalds and Kentucky Fried Chicken. It was outside the latter on a cold early morning in January when five activists were arrested, allegedly spray-painting the walls.

Perhaps as a message to the Front, the police being quite aware of this increase in direct action, are treating these arrests as one might expect them to treat mostly politically 'subversive' activity. Investigators from Metro Intelligence were called immediately, and in court a special prosecutor was assigned to the case. Indeed, this is a special case for the political police. A poster for the five's defence campaign reads:

'What should have been simple Mischief charges has turned into a situation where many, and more serious charges have been laid against them by the police...This is part of the current police intimidation campaign, why they are attempting to smash animal activism in any way.'

Soon after their arrests, a series of police raids were carried out, two on separate homes. After the dust settled, charges against the five had increased to: Mischief Under and Mischief Over $1,000 (several charges each)- some relating to past ALF actions against butcher shops, fur stores, and the February 1986 raid on the University of Toronto dental labs; Wearing a disguise with intent, possession of burglar tools, break and enter, possession of stolen property, dangerous weapons and explosives.

Their preliminary trial will take place on September 29 1987. This is when a judge decides for each charge, if the police have enough evidence to go to trial. To help offset their legal fees and court costs, a defense fund has been set up. Financial contributions are gratefully accepted. Cheques or money-orders should be sent directly to their Defence Fund payable to Mary Bartley, Barrister and Solicitor, and mailed to 11 Prince Arthur Ave, Toronto, Ontario, M5R 1B2 Canada. On your cheque it should be noted: Toronto Animal Rights Defense Fund, In Trust.
SOURCE: Freebird, P.O. Box 915, Toronto, Ont. Canada M4Y 2N9

International News In Brief

ITALY

The PCI (Communist Party) and the governments campaign to discredit and discourage any dissent continues. The worst hit are, of course, the anti-nuclear, anti-militarists. Along with seven arrested Autonomists (all of whom have been released but are still facing charges), there have been numerous searches and hassles of Rome's squatted social centres, searches of homes, confiscations of posters and other material, and searches of Carrara's printers where such posters and other anarchist literature is printed. The 'Anti-Militarist Solidarity Fund' has been confiscated, too. This served to spread information and, above all, to sustain the struggles of the comrades who refused military services, spending a year in jail. The authorities said the fund promoted and financed insubordination to the military, and thus the State.

We will not give in to these attacks-the fights against military nuclear and state repression go on.

ARGENTINA

Reading reports on the lastest revolts by sections of the military in Argentina, and their subsequent 'surrender' to President Raul Alfonsin, one would be forgiven for thinking the President of Argentina 'a saviour of democracy' and 'scourge of the military'. Think again! The fact is that since Alfonsin took power after the collapse of the military junta four years ago he has done fuck all about curbing the power of the armed forces and has let the country's economy run down by diverting assets into the International Monetary Fund. In reality only one hundred and eighty people have ever been brought to trial to date to face charges arising from the 'disappearance' of some 30,000 during the 'dirty war' period (between 1976-1983)—that's under 5% of those thought to be involved—since Alfonsin took over. More recently, at the end of 1986, it was Alfonsin who helped push though parliament the notorious 'Final Point' law which has disqualified any more trials related to crimes commited by armed forces personnel during this period from taking place.

SPAIN

Sources in Spain tell us that a trial against seven anarchists, accused of belonging to the FIGA (Federation Iberica de Grupos Anarquistas) is nearing completion in Madrid.

FIGA was set up in 1978 to raise funds, through bank robberies according to the police, for the anarchist movement. All seven were arrested in June 1985. More information in future issues of BLACK FLAG.

Also in Madrid, a new prisoner support network under the title of 'Coordinadora De Ayu da Y Solidaridad a Los Presos Anarquistas' has been set up to fight for the release of al Anarchists imprisoned in Spain. For more information contact: CASPA c/o Apartado de Correos 55106, 28080 Madrid Spain.

Strikes

Tuesday 15th April: A mass demo in Seville organised by the workers of the Sevilla, Puerto Real and Huelva shipyards protesting against reconversion was brutally put down by the police.


Seville demonstrator attacked by police

In Santander, in the north , the FYESA workers organised a similar demonstration resulting in running battles with the police, who fired directly into the crowd. A police flare accidentally set the FIYESA company offices on fire. Workers at Reinosa demanded that their 'socialist' mayor resign.

CHINA

An explosion at a flax factory killed 45 workers and injured 185 others in the northern eastern city of Harbin on March 16th, according to China Legal News. The report said some 470 workers were in the factory that day.

THE 'UNOFFICIAL' ENEMY WITHIN

A number of organisations in Britain – mostly privately funded bodies – can be shown to be connected and be unofficial lobbies for pro-NATO (and pro-US strategic)interests. These organisations extend right into the heart of the establishment and indicate that any attempt to for example, de-couple the 'Special Relationship', or cause destabilisation of NATO interests in the British Isles, would result in pre-emptive action by an already established clique that could provide the basis or impetus for a civil-military junta.

These organisations already advise and use various official channels to influence current State policy. Some are at the centre of policy matters affecting national security, some have long established links with promoting certain business and anti-trade union interests, others in promoting better relations with countries for example like South Africa. Members of some of the organisations in question are not only high up in the Establishment – they *are* the Establishment. In this sense they are quasi-governmental.

Ignoring the more mainstream institutions – the Armed Forces, the Security Services, the Police, NATO proper, etc – some of these organisations are briefly examined below, giving an idea of their role in defending the British State and capitalist interests within the framework of the Overt Establishment. They give us a glimpse into the *Covert* Establishment, of which they form a small, but significant part.

INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN DEFENCE & STRATEGIC STUDIES

Despite its official sounding name, this is not a State body proper, although it certainly advises the State on much of its strategic thinking, especially on matters affecting NATO. Founded in 1979, it is virtually wholly funded by the US Heritage Foundation, a Reaganite think-tank, involved in almost every type of international conspiracy you can think of (Contra funding, support for Euro-Rightists, etc). The IEDSS has a propaganda arm publishing *Survey* (the quarterly journal of 'East West Studies', the publication of FARI – see below). The chairman of the IEDSS is Dr Edwin Feulner of the Heritage Foundation. Another Heritage representative is Board Member Stephen Hasler, formerly an early entrist into the Social Democratic Party higher echelons.

The IEDSS Advisory Council includes Melvin Lasky, editor of the CIA-funded *Encounter* magazine, Ray Whitney (IRD – see below) and Richard Allen (former head of the United States NATO Security Council). The IEDSS Research Officer is George Miller who, wearing another hat, is the British head of the neo-fascist NTS (Russian emigre organisation); Miller is also a member of the pro-nuclear Coalition for Peace Through Security (see below). Day to day running of the IEDSS is organised by Gerald Frost, the Secretary of the Centre for Policy Studies, a Thatcherite think-tank concerned with promoting social change within the climate of free-market economics. But perhaps most interesting of all is the actual location of the IEDSS – namely adjacent to the seemingly discredited (but still functioning) Institute for the Study of Conflict, a CIA counter-insurgency propaganda agency.

So, within that one organisation one can trace connections between advisory bodies associated with the Reagan and Thatcher administrations, and with additional links to the Intelligence services on both sides of the Atlantic.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Officially now inactive, but now subsumed within the ISC (see below) and the IEDSS. Originally set up by arch-Tory and pro-Thatcherite, Geoffrey Stewart Smith (who during the early '70's was the UK head of the World Anti-Communist League). FARI is known to have been funded by BOSS (South African Security Force), the CIA and the Lockheed Corporation. Council members included Brian Crozier and Robert Moss (both members of the ISC and the Freedom Association). FARI specialises in bringing together think-tank people involved in anti-Communist strategic affairs. At its last known conference it brought together advisors from all over the world, many of who were either members of, or connected with, the Heritiage Foundation. Also present was the infamous Ray Cline, a one-time prominent figure in WACL, advisor on strategic security to Reagan, a director of CIA covert operations and now head of both the US Centre for Studies and the US National Intelligence Study Centre. The CSIS is the equivalent of the UK based International Institute of Strategic Studies, a think-tank concerned with NATO affairs and whose chairman is Lord Carrington, the head of NATO.

Again we have an organisation, that is not part of the official Establishment but has links directly to it , bringing together people involved at the highest level of Allied security and people involved in covert intelligence and the sponsorship of terrorism.

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF CONFLICT

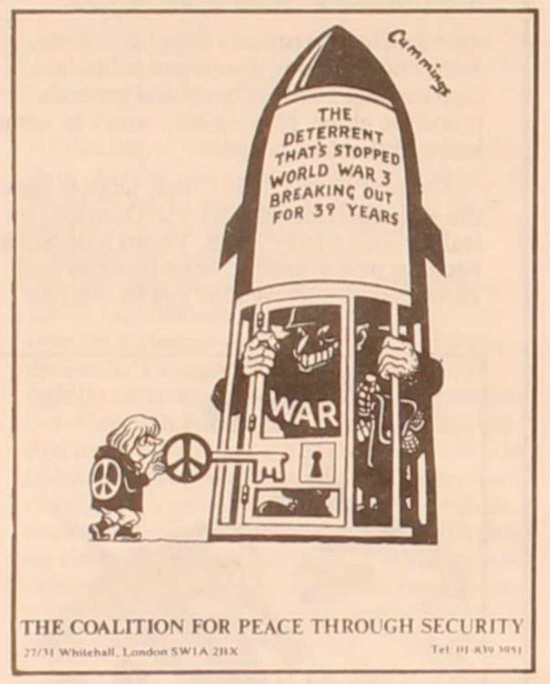
A popular one for investigation and a body that has come under much scrutiny in *Black Flag*. In the light of the above and additional information, it is worth looking at the ISC and its role as a supply conduit for personnel who can operate on the fringe of the more official bodies.

What is not usually understood, however, is the real Establishment base the ISC has. Again this can be revealed simply by a cursory glance at those people, disregarding the mavericks like Crozier, who govern its activities. People like Frank Benchley, its chairman. Benchley is the former head of the UK Defence and Overseas Secretariat in the Cabinet Office from 1975 to 1976. This committee is one of the several 'secret committees' that featured in the currently banned BBC series *Secret Society* and which advises the Prime Minister's office on affairs of State. This particular committee provides advice to the Cabinet, via the Cabinet Office Briefing Room (COBRA) on matters affecting external security. Benchley was COBRA's liasion between MI6 and the Foreign Office.

Another ISC Council member is Lord Beloff, Education Advisor to Thatcher and Principal of the University of Buckingham, Britian's first privately-funded university. He is joined in the ISC by Maurice Cranston Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics, and Professor S.E. Finer of Oxford University.

Representing the military establishment is Air Chief Marshall Sir Christopher Foxley Norris, a former NATO commander; Vice Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly, the former Director General of Intelligence in the Ministry of Defence from 1971-75; General Sir Harry Tuzo, the former Deputy Supreme Commander Europe from 1976-78, Commander in Chief British Army on the Rhine, and Director of Military Operations for Northern Ireland 1971-73.

Other members include Leonard Schapiro (MI5); Sir Edward Peck, British Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council – an official Allied policy organisation; Michael Goodwin (who is also the Director of the ISC), previously head of the publishing house, Ampersand, a front for the State propaganda body, the Information Research Department (see below).



SUBTLE STUFF FROM THE C.F.P.T.S.

Regular contributors to ISC publications and affairs include people like Paul Wilkinson (political 'journalist' and 'expert' on terrorism), Kenneth Benton (formerly head of Counter-Espionage in Madrid and Paris), David Price (formerly of the Information Research Department, and desk chief for MI6 in Poland), Nigel Clive (head of the Information Research Department in 1961), Richard Clutterbuck (another terrorism 'expert' and a member of that elite club, the Royal United Services Institute – see below).

Although the CIA link to the ISC is well known and that it has been established that Brian Crozier (whose previous incarnations included former editor of *The Economist*, the South African Correspondent for the *Sunday Times*, and Reuters correspondent) is employed by MI6, what is not known is that the ISC itself was founded by MI6 and set up by an MI6 training officer (and consultant to UNITA, the South African backed 'Contras'), Evan Davies. It is also an illusion to conceive of the ISC as a non-mainstream body, full of retired 'loonies of the Right' writing papers on obscure rightist topics. The ISC advises on all sorts of issues to all sorts of Establishment bodies. A few years ago, for example, the ISC was invited by the 'liberal' former Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall, John Anderson (the public purveyor of 'community policing'), to lecture at the Police College at Bramshill on the subject of terrorism and subversion. One of the consequences of that visit was that a manual was produced by the ISC, to be made available permanently at Bramshill, on those subjects.

The CIA funding of the ISC is of course not direct. Instead it uses several conduits for the funds, namely the (Washington based) Public Affairs Research Group, the Ford Foundation, and the Ray Cline run NSIC (see above). However, the brainchild of the ISC, although set up by MI6, was in fact Frank Wisner of the CIA.

ROYAL UNITED SERVICES INSTITUTE & THE INFORMATION RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

On another level is the relationship between the ISC and the RUSI, initially the ISC had the same offices at the RUSI. Today RUSI members are joint members of the ISC. RUSI is the power-house of Britian's military establishment – providing a forum for

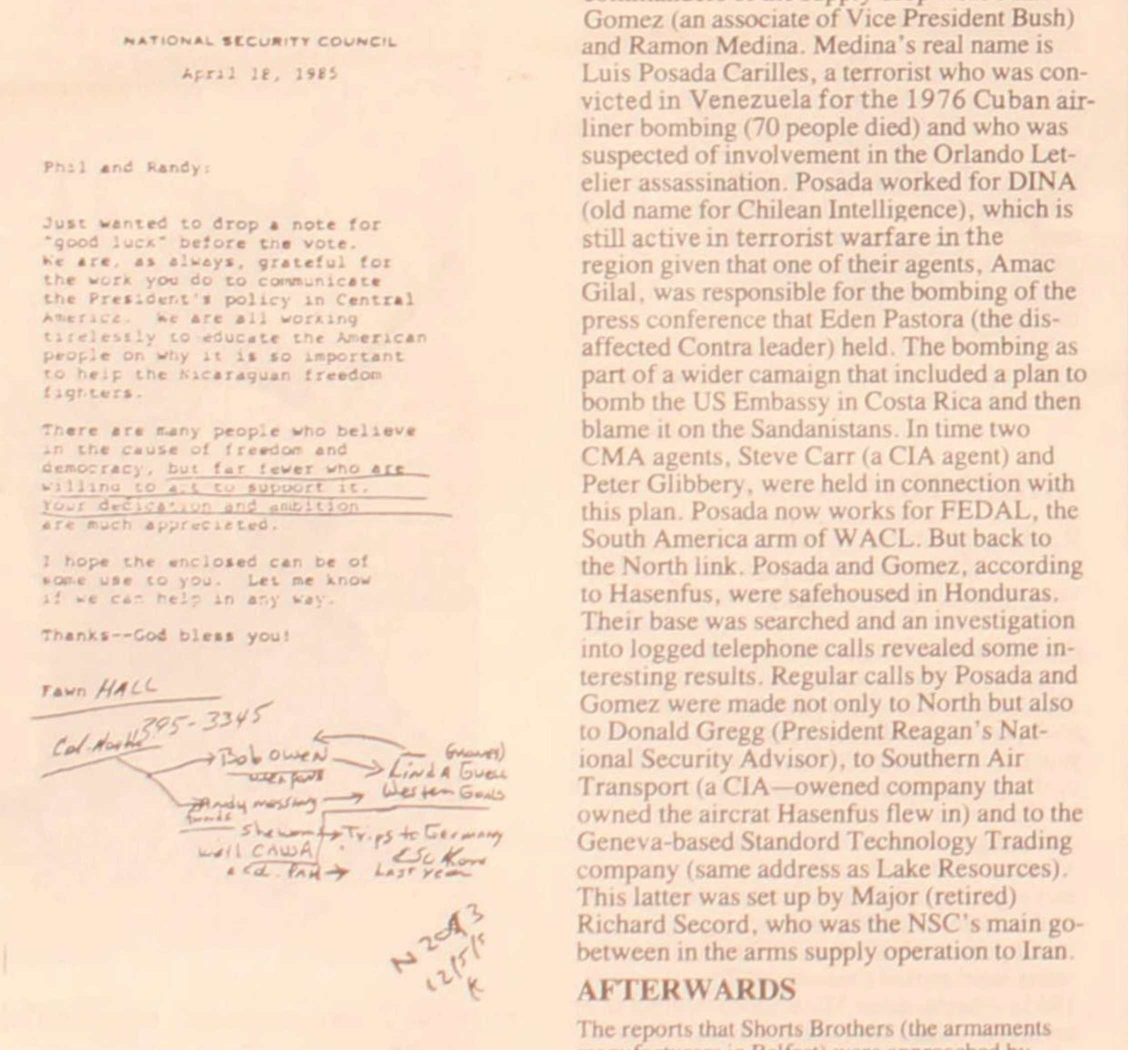
Continued on page 8

Contragate

MOONIE LINK IRREFUTABLE

Proof that the World Unification Church (Moonies) was used directly in the Contragate operation to supply weapons to the anti-Sandanista forces is provided both in the form of a memorandum, with notes penned by Lt. Col. Oliver North's own hand, and through a terrorist named in connection with one of the main supply operations.

The notes clearly show an operation structure linking CAUSA (the political wing of the Unification Church) and Western Goals (a Moonie intelligence agency) which have world-wide agencies to North's accomplices in the supply operation. Bob Owen (of the Nicaraguan Humanitarian Assistance Office—set up by the NSC) was responsible for coordinating funds, and Linda Guell (of Western Goals) was responsible for laundering the funds and supplying hard cash to Owen.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 18, 1985

Phil and Randy:

Just wanted to drop a note for "good luck" before the vote. We are, as always, grateful for the work you do to communicate the President's policy in Central America. We are all working tirelessly to educate the American people on why it is so important to help the Nicaraguan freedom fighters.

There are many people who believe in the cause of freedom and democracy, but far fewer who are willing to act to support it. Your dedication and ambition are much appreciated.

I hope the enclosed can be of some use to you. Let me know if we can help in any way.

Thanks--God bless you!

Fawn HALL

395-3345

THE MEMORANDUM

Also noted is CAUSA, with Col Pak ('Col' Bo Hi Pak, the South Korean head of the Unification Church and the head of the South Korean section of the World Anti-Communist League) added underneath. According to the Tower Commission, General (retired) Singlaub (of WACL and the American Council for World Freedom and a main Contagate fundraiser) has been shown to have offered himself as middleman in getting direct assistance and funds to the Contras from the government of South Korea. *Overthrow* magazine recently published reports of South Korean troops in Honduras working on the ground with Contras.

Overthrow also named Rob Owen as North's link man to the mercenary organisation the CMA (Civil Miltary Assitance) whose operatives are trained at Fort Bragg. The CMA mercenary Hasenfus, who was shot down over Nicaragua while delivering supplies, reported directly to Owen, according to newly found evidence. The pilot of the plane Hasenfus was to hand to him the business card of Owen (see also BF no. 168), but the co-pilot had a notebook containing the account number of the Swiss account (Line Resources) that contained the $12m profits from the Iran arms sales. The implication here is that these profits were given to the CMA and other, similar, organisation (such as the Air Commando Association) for supply operations.

The link between the CMA and North was obvious through Owen, although a direct link has also been established. Hasenfus, under interrogation, revealed that two of the field commanders of the supply drop were Max Gomez (an associate of Vice President Bush) and Ramon Medina. Medina's real name is Luis Posada Carilles, a terrorist who was convicted in Venezuela for the 1976 Cuban airliner bombing (70 people died) and who was suspected of involvement in the Orlando Letelier assassination. Posada worked for DINA (old name for Chilean Intelligence), which is still active in terrorist warfare in the region given that one of their agents, Amac Gilal, was responsible for the bombing of the press conference that Eden Pastora (the disaffected Contra leader) held. The bombing as part of a wider camaign that included a plan to bomb the US Embassy in Costa Rica and then blame it on the Sandanistans. In time two CMA agents, Steve Carr (a CIA agent) and Peter Glibbery, were held in connection with this plan. Posada now works for FEDAL, the South America arm of WACL. But back to the North link. Posada and Gomez, according to Hasenfus, were safehoused in Honduras. Their base was searched and an investigation into logged telephone calls revealed some interesting results. Regular calls by Posada and Gomez were made not only to North but also to Donald Gregg (President Reagan's National Security Advisor), to Southern Air Transport (a CIA—owened company that owned the aircrat Hasenfus flew in) and to the Geneva-based Standord Technology Trading company (same address as Lake Resources). This latter was set up by Major (retired) Richard Secord, who was the NSC's main go-between in the arms supply operation to Iran.

AFTERWARDS

The reports that Shorts Brothers (the armaments manufacturers in Belfast) were approached by North to supply arms, covertly, to the Contras, is substantiated by a memo from North himself and documented by the Tower Commission. In the memo North said 'We should look back to a head of an allied government of the Blowpipes (anti-aircraft missiles) if we are going to do anything at all about outside support...'; here North is clearly referring to Thatcher, and it is also clear from this statement that he had an established direct link with her.

As it was according to the *Observer* arms were eventually supplied to the Contras by a royal ordinance Factory supplier, Hall & Watts Ltd, who sent over $10m worth of arms to Honduras with the assistance of a Syrian go-between, Monzur Al Kassar, who himself has had dealings for some years with the British mercenary organisation, KMS (ex SAS operatives).

Tom Inglewood

NB. See also 'Bush Link With Death Squads', in issue no.163 (published 6 weeks prior to the official leaking of the Contragate scandal).

Bettaney Knew...

Allegations made by *Black Flag* two years ago that the MI5 employee, Michael Bettaney, was framed on spying charges (he was convicted and given life imprisonment) have been substantiated by the former Army intelligence officer Colin Wallace.

Wallace, is the main source of the revelations about a dirty tricks campaign against the Wilson government and of the psychological operations campaigns in the North of Ireland – stated on a Channel Four chat show that Bettaney was not a traitor in the usual meaning of the word, but a dissident who merely became disaffected that the subversive activities the Intelligence services were conducting.

At the time of Bettaney's conviction we were informed of his role in directing and controlling the infiltrations of left and anarchist groups. One of Bettaney's infiltrators, Tony Jones (a barrister), had been regularly passing on information to MI5 regarding the activities of the ABC (Aburey, Berry, Campbell) Defence Campaign and, more latterly, the anarchist movement.

Wallace hinted that Bettaney had been set up once it was realised his loyalties were in question. The real danger, of course, was whether Bettaney would reveal state secrets – many of which are now beginning to be exposed.

T.I.

NB. Significantly Bettany was employed in MI5's 'K4' division – the very division that ran the dirty tricks campaign against Wilson etc, as exposed by Wallace. Bettany would thus have had intimate knowledge of these campaigns especially as he worked directly to the MI5 officers, named recently in Parliament, involved in the coup plot. When his dissident views were identified it became imperative that MI5 deprive him of his liberty permanently - hence his life imprisonment.

Tony Benn's Diaries

"I'm going to delete unfriendly references because I don't wan to wind people up that I worked with – the things that I would want to remove. . ."

So says Tony Benn, who according to a recent newspaper article[1], is just putting the finishing touches to his huge diaries – more than eight million words and 40 manuscript volumes at the moment. He has received a grant from The Rowntree Trust to help publication.

Another recent article[2], throws an interesting light on The owntree Trust. During the 1974 General Election, the Trust contributed 'substantial grants' to political parties in Northern Ireland. For exampl , $11,000 was donated to the SDLP, and other sums went to The Alliance Party and The Northern Irish Labour Party. It has also funded Loyalist paramilitary conferences and contributed to their other 'expenses'. Money was also paid to former Secretary of State of Northern Ireland Merlyn Rees to get a fellowship.

According to the report, The Rowntree Trust was a 'conduit for MI6 funds' – in other words a 'Front' for MI6, allegedly enabling the political interests – such is the case in Northern Ireland where the funding of more 'moderate' political parties – like the Catholic SDLP – has been aimed at underming the progress of the political wing of the IRA – Sinn Fein.

Can it be, that Tony Benn has accepted funding from The Rowntree Trust, and in return he has decided to delete all the 'vicious or malicious parts'[1] of previous Labour governments?

The sort of revelations which the present government has tried recently to suppress in the Peter Wright secrets trial in Australia?

REFERENCES:
1. The Guardian 13.2.87.
2. The Lobster No. 11, p45.

MI5 & THE RISE OF THATCHER

More revelations about the central role M15 played in engineering the election or a far-right (Bolshevik) Tory leadership have appeared in the national press recently. The main source has been the former Army intelligence officer, Colin Wallace, who, over a year ago exposed his work to the investigative magazine, *The Lobster* in an exclusive interview.

According to Wallace, M15 favoured people like Whitelaw, Soames, Biffen and Ridley and on the Labour side, Callaghan(who was a former representative of the Police Federation). The 'baddies' were Wilson, Healy, Tory 'wets' ,and Heath (who was seen as weak in his handling of the1972 and 1974 Miners strikes). At that time Thatcher was just a junior minister - her time had not yet come.

Wallace also revealed that Airey Neave who at the time was the Tory spokesman for Northern Ireland, was involved in the propaganda campaign to discredit and destabilise the Wilson government. Wallace asserts that the Ulster unionists general strike was promoted by M15 agents working closely with loyalists in order to embarass the Labour government and sabotage the Sunningdale agreement over 'power sharing'.

According to Wallace, he was connected to the dirty tricks campaign, known as 'Clockwork Orange 2'. CO2 produced disinformation, notably forged documents, in an attempt to link certain senior members of the Labour Party to the Communist Party. One of these was Denis Healy who, paradoxically, has already been linked to the CIA-funded *Encounter* magazine —a forum for right-wing social democrats supportive of NATO. Former and post editors of *Encounter* include people such as Melvinne Laske who have since been linked to far-right think-tanks such as The Institute for the Studiies of Conflict. the Institute is itself a major source of dirty tricks propaganda and disinformation and it advises the Royal United Services Institute the Armed Forces think tank.

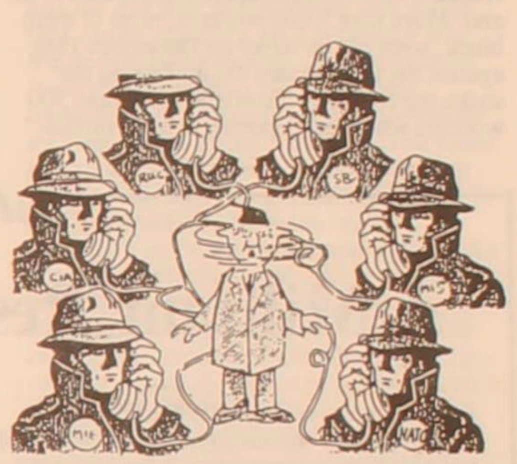
The Institute partly grew out of a disinformation agency known as Forum World Features. One of FWF's subsidiaries was Inter Press Features and Wallace has admitted that IPF press cards were issued to MI5 agents on tour in Northern Ireland. An earlier article in *Black Flag* also pointed out that the setting up of the Ulster Freedom Fighters, to promote sectarian murders, was undetaken by MI5.

The recent Stalker affair pointed a finger to MI5 too, suggesting that they are still active in dirty trucks operations in the Province. Stalker was close to exposing the facts proving a 'shoot to kill' policy. About three years ago, *Black Flag* anonymously received top secret documents proving irrefutably that there was indeed a 'shoot to kill' policy in operation. The documents were in the form of instructions to senior officers on duty in the Province, advising on what to do in combat situations. (unfortunately we were not able to publish these doucments as to have done so would have been self-incriminating).

As for Neave (who was one of the heads of wartime intelligence), it has been suggested that he may well have been party to the plans to organise the coup on the Wilson government. Winston Churchill MP was also named in this.

Should Labour get in at the next election (looks unlikely), and should they go ahead with unilateral nuclear disarmament (even more unlikely), we cannot rule out a re-ryn of the earlier MI5 campaign or even the 'coup' – although this would be done in a feasible, 'British' way (i.e. not a military takeover, but an appeal to the Queen). What is more feasible, though, is for Labour policy to change from within, especially with all parties now favouring the Western European Union as the new policy-making body for Western European defence matters.

As for parliamentary Bolshiviks these days one need go no further than your local Tory MP. After all in the USSR it is illegal to strike or to demonstrate (although this situation is slowly changing – if we can believe what we hear) – and, under the Tories, it is now the same in Britain. Effective strike action is banned here and under the new Public Order Act demonstrations are illegal unless they have police approval. Is this not a move towards totalitarianism? Who, therefore



are the real Moscow moles? Mrs Thatcher (and people like police chief Anderton) are surely devotees of some of the USSR's most strident practices – hardly a candidate for the Protectoe of Liberties and even less a champion of human rights – while MI5, it seems, has been taking lessons from the GRU (USSR Secret Police) in social control.

NB. We suggest that one reason why an enquiry into the 'plot to destabilise the Wilson government' is not being investigated is because of the central role the late Lord Mountbatten (then chief of Defence Staff) played in coordinating discussions between MI5 and others in the planning of the coup attempt.

T.I.

THE RIGHT TO BE HUMAN

Few are taken in by the public relations exercise – aimed at both domestic and international consumption – but the Western powers must surely be a trifle dismayed to note that even in dissident circles, Gorbachev's popularity in Czechoslovakia, for example, is not greater than Reagans.

On the issue of nuclear weapons the new style appeals to be winning too. Gorbachevs alleged aim of getting rid of all nuclear weapons contrasts starkly with Thatcher's determination to retain the deterrent. And their differences in style were illustrated recently when Britain (together with the USA) refused to sign the Treaty of Rantonga (Soyth Pacific Nuclear Free Zone), which both China and the USSR have ratified.

A Czechoslovak Chartist astutely commented on Channel 4 that should the Soviet Union's 'glasnost' policy really take off then the West will, inevitably, be forced to redefine their own versions of democracy and freedom as the 'Evil Empire' the Western powers have measured themselves against will be less obviously evil.

This is even apparent within the Warsay Pact where the Stalinists in Czechoslovakia, post-Dubcek, are fearful of being outsted with the new broom of Gorbachev making its sweep. The Chartist also made the point that Western powers would be forced themselves to consider changes in their political systems to adjust to any Soviet reforms. If the Soviet Union, contrary to all expectations, moves towards a less totalitarian system, then it will be more difficult for the West to justify their own growing repressive policies or the buildup in oppositional military defence.

At the recent Thatcher/Gorbachev summit, when Thatcher attempted to put herself forward as the champion of 'human rights' and admonished the Soviets for their excesses in repressions, Gorbachev responded by attacking Thatcher's own dismal record and pointed to her assault on the unions, the violence of her government's police, massive unemployment, the diminishing health service, the growing prison population, the rise in homelessness and the fact that in Britain it is now almost illegal to demonstrate. These are as much violations of 'human rights' as anything else. In saying this Gorbachev is simply playing the same game as Thatcher but the argument is no less valid.

Turning the argument on its head it is in the West's interest that the Soviet system remains despised, in order to preserve the illusion of freedom in the West. At the same time, the West needs a more capitalist Soviet Union not as a competitor, but as a consumer.

Hence more open trade, providing the West maintains the advantage.

As far as the Western powers are concerned the worse scenario that could happen is a second Russian revolutin – whether it be a genuine peoples revoluton or a turining away by the Soviet state from bolshevism. Any major changes will affect attitudes in the West; comparisons will be adjusted and where inequities are seen more clearly there will be a clamour for change and more resistance.

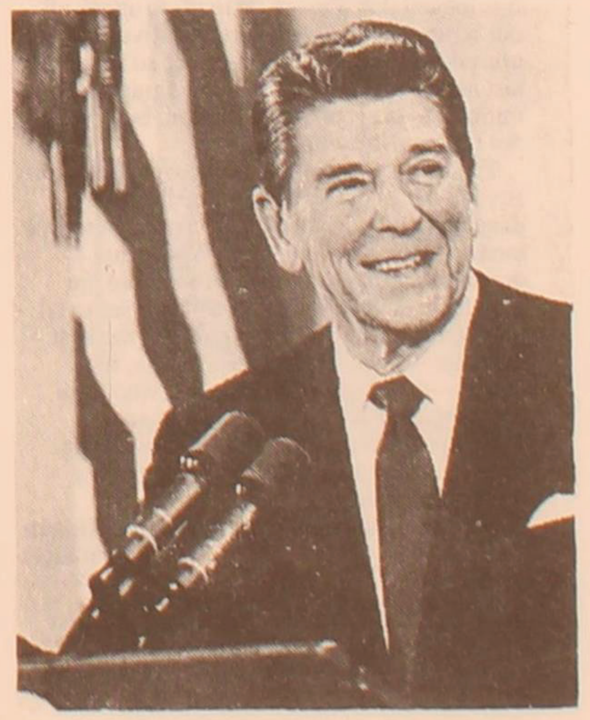
Any real change in the Soviet Union will require a new 'evil empire' to be created by the Western Powers. They will be hard pressed if their own systems are moving towards more authoritarian control; the West would hardly define themselves 'the enemy'. Already the West sponsored neo-fascist regimes in South America and South Africa are on a par with some of the worst excesses of the Soviet Union. Should there be changes in the Eastern bloc it will be more and more difficult for the western states to explain away their support for regimes such as Chile.

In the West many will fight for certain 'rights' (e.g. the 'right' to privacy, or to make lots of money), but when the quality of life worsens at the expanse of the wealthy few seem to define this as a violation of 'human rights' – A concept that the Western powers have expropriated for their own ends – but that is what they are and nothing less.

As anarchists we fight against all systems that constrain the 'right' to determine the way we live (providing that

Continued on page 6





SPOT THE DIFFERENCE

INTERNATIONAL NEWS EXTRA

International News In Brief

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In early March Ervin Motl, a young worker, was sentenced to three years in prison for reading emigre literature, listening to foreign radio broadcasts, and discussing conditions at the factory where he worked.

SOUTH AFRICAN SUPERMARKET STRIKE ENDS

On February 25th a 10-week strike by a black-dominated union against one of South Africa's lagest supermarket chains came to an end. More than 7,000 workers, most of them black, went out on strike on December 18th against the OK Bazaars chain. During the strike the company dismissed more than 500 workers who were reported to have vandalized property or intimidated customers. Scores of workers were arrested or detained. Formal South African censorship and informal US censorship make further details unavailable.

PARAGUAY PRISONERS RELEASED

Amensty International has reported the release in Paraguay of Benjamin Ramon Liveieres, a member of the Sindicato Indepe-ndiente de Periodistas and an activist in a recently-formed union movement known as the Agrupacion Independiente de Trabaja-dores (AIT: Independent Workers' Associa-tion). Carlos Flizzola, Hector Lacognata, and Elsa Mereles also were released from deten-tion. Amnesty believed their arrests were connected with their peaceful activities as president, nurses' repsresentative, and students' representive, respectively of the Asociacion de Medicos, Enfermeras y Estudi-ante del Hospital de Clinas in the State-run teaching hospital in Asuncion.

USA

A mother of three children would have to make $5.30 an hour at a full-time year-round job—nearly $2 more than the minimum wage—to reach the 1985 poverty level of $10,989. (The average income for all women in the USA in 1985 was $10,173).

USA death row list is a record high. A record 1,838 US prisoners were waiting on death row at the close of 1986, waiting to see whether they to were to be electrocuted, gassed, poisoned, hanged, or shot dead. Amnesty International reports that the US and Pakistan have the largest death rows in the world.

US Labour Department stastics recently released report that 3,750 workers were killed on the job during 1985, while another 5.4 million workers lost worktime dure to job injuries. (The injury rate does not include long-term occupational diseases such as asbestosis, nor does the death rate include workers who die from these job-caused illne-sses). Two thirds of these on-the-job deaths occurred in the construction, manufacturing, transportation, and public-utilities industries.

It has long been established that most occupational injuries, illnesses, and deaths would be eliminated with a proper regard for safe working conditions. But this costs money, and eats into the bosses' profits.

LIBYA

A Canadian reporter, Christoph Lehmann-Halens, attended the Pece Conference of Qathafi (Gadaffi). He was fit, healthy and undepressed. He is supposed to have jumped thirty feet from a villa roof 'after viewing the damage and victims of the US bombing'. His news chain, and the Canadian authorities, refuse to believe it. The official Libyan daily *Dawn* says it was suicide, and the local police say it was accidental. So 'a Canadian diplomat has been sent from the Rome Embassy to investigate the circumsta-nces of the death' (*Daily Telegraph* 16 April). Note that the Canadian diplomat has come from Rome—the Italian police should be able to give him every indication as to what happened to Mr Christoph Lehmann-Halens. It is precisely the same scenario as in Milan to our honoured comrade Giuseppe Pinelli: the police version was that he jumped from the police station window shouting 'This is the end of anarchism!' when told of the horrific bombing which is now known to have been carried out by fascists.

BETTER OUT OF LIFE THAN OUT OF FASHION

Italy's top clothes designers are reported to be trying to catch on to a wave of national concern about rape by such incredible examples as an outfit described as The Rape Victim. Maybe they should try Buchenwald pyjamas for ex-port to Israel?

POLISH MINE DISASTER

Seventeen coal miners died in Southern Po-land when a methane-gas explision ripped throught the 150-year-old Myslowice mine on February 4th. Twenty other coal miners were hospitalized, five in serious condition, in the worse reported coal-mining accident in Po-land since December 22nd 1985, when a sim-ilar explosion killed 18 miners in the south western city of Walbrzych. Polish authorities re-opened the mine the next day.

West Germany

Militant Resistance - Part 3

Following the explosion in the Chernobyl nuclear power station's reactor and the result-ing radiation in large parts of Europe at the end of April last year, there was a rapid growth of common anti-nuclear actions throu-ghout West Germany,. They were carried out without all the previous long 'violence or not' debates which used to be common place—e.g. in Gottingen where a spontaneous street blockade took place. a demonstration of forty farmers was severely attacked by the local police after the farmers had left their tractors in front of the town hall and delivered con-taminated vegetables at the door.

There is now a shift in the attitude to nuc-lear energy, with an explicit majority against. Only twenty per cent are said to favour it. Be-cause of the constant disinformation about the dangers, there is an increased distrust of offi-cial politics. This could become a real danger to the Federal Republic's political system. Banners are hanging out of house windows demanding: *Publicise the contamination dates of our area! Smash the atomic state! En-ough is enough! Away with the atomic pro-gramme—war against capital, the fight for freedom is international...*



Independent resistance

State and parties try to lump the indepen-dent movement with the urban guerrillas (RAF) and thus ignore the fact that the auton-omist movement is a loose circle of groups of various, undogmatic left-wing posit-ions—punks, anti-fascists, anarchists, squat-ters, enemies of atomic energy, and local initiatives independent of parties.

They are all more or less agreed on three principles: (1) No co-operation with any party whatever;
(2) Building up of independently developed structures of decision making and co-ordination of a federalist base;
(3) Not to deal with the 'violence debate' because that only leads to weakness, splits and criminalisation.

An organisation is in the making. It should be something like a network, capble of spreading important events rapidly all over the country. Decentralised direct actions as well as demonstrations and protest rallies could be carried out, which could be explained and linked with events at the very place they refer to.

The State has not been able so far to split and criminalise the movement. Chernobyl and Wackersdorf now stand for an important change in the general population's attitude; it is now in the majority. The State has resorted to the launch of a racial discrimination campaign against refugees and immigr-ants—to counter the danger of this movement. Suddenly, out of the blue, the State has disco-vered the horror-vision of a 'threatening flood' of 'dubious foreigners' who are 'invading' the country!

Thee refugees and immigrants are blamed for social cuts, terrorism, economic crisis (they haven't yet thought of blaming them for nuclear contamination). In fact, the Federal Republic, after Norway, has the lowest rate of refugees in Europe.

The ruling class see themselves confronted by a tightness of resistance which is new. That resistance cannot be blamed on the rather isolated urban guerrilla any more and it is why the State has recently added to the 'anti-terrorist' laws. From January 87, for instance, sabotaging nuclear energy supply poles has been regarded as a 'terrorist crime', which aims at making such actions unpopular. It is logical that they go on to try to attack all our points by a masssive preventative police presence. They have not yet gone so far as the last means at their disposal—bringing out the military to prevent the revolution, but we are not far from that either.

The media is incited to portray us as 'terror-ists' who put 'ordinary citizens' lives at danger' so that they should accept the terrorist measures the State employs. Where this denunciation does not succeed—where the population shows solidarity and refuses to let the State divide us—Wackersdorf is the best example—the State needs to create a 'new' enemy—in this case the refugees, who have been depicted as an object for hate and contempt for everything which goes wrong. Thus they seek to absorb the rising feeling against the State.

From the Libertarian Plenum of Gottingen (Germany)

FOOTNOTE: We have just heard that very fierce demonstrations took place on the weekend of 23rd and 24th in which one demonstrator is in a serious state. More next issue.

Thatcher's Final Solution

Continued from page 1

or conscription, can only be ultimately successfully if we agree to it by default. As was seen by prisoners-of-war or concentration camp inmates, those who yielded to their oppression died by it: those who let themselves be brainwashed were; those who resisted stood the best chance of survival. Once you give way, they've got you.

The Right To Be Human

Continued from page 5

does not lead to the exploitation of others); we fight against all forms of repression, whatever the degree; and it is all our interests that the notion of 'human rights' be reappropriated from the political opportunitsts of left and right, if liberation on a worldwide scale can ever be realised. 'Human rights' are ours not Reagans or Thatchers or Gorbachev.

TI

Late News

Anti-Sexist Mens Weekend, 29 & 30th May. Suggestions from people for agenda to: c/o Raven Press, 75 Piccadilly, MANCHESTER.

VANGUARDS

In conflicts generally, in all industrial and other disputes, the odd vanguard group is thrown up, which endeavours to promote itself as the 'heroic leaders' who deserve recognition as champions of the oppressed rank and file. In periods when arbitration is allowed to supersede direct action, union leaderships took on the role of vanguard. That is how figures in the hierarchy of the trade union movement were elevated by their own efforts, and by that of the press and employers, but not necessarily by the will of the membership, to ensure that the control of events remained out of the grasp of the rank-and-file, and in the grasp of vanguard figures.

There was also a time when the ridiculous self-inflated groupings of the State socialist left in Britain—e.g. the SWP, Militant, the Communist Party etc—were portrayed as the Vanguards with the aspiration to become self-appointed leaders of the revolution. The absence of anything resembling revolutionary or even direct action means the subterfuge is seen for what it is. In election year they generally no longer even claim vanguardism but clamour for victory hoping to get some of the crumbs of government.

The State itself most needs them—to distract from the rank-and file struggle which is the real threat to the well-being of the State. When vanguards disappear, the capitalist press has to create new ones, emphasising the sensational aspect. That is why the press is so keen to focus on political groupings involved in major disputes, enticing them with offers of publicity and press space—something they never offered to pickets during the 12 month dispute with News International.

Indeed, why should print workers even expect an opportunity to put their case over? And why should we? But the same cannot be said for groups perhaps involved in, but not central to the, struggle. The press dub these groups as 'outside extremists' and 'agitators' but elevate them to 'working class hero' status as well. It doesn't take much to see why this happens.

However good the offers of publicity, overtures by the press should be avoided. Those who fall into the trap accept a platform for those whose future depends on the outcome of an immediate struggle; they are in fact colluding with the press. They do it for self-glory, even if their motives are dressed up otherwise. They become no different from trade union leaders who have appointed themselves as vanguards, or those State socia-lists who think vanguardism is the only way to achieve and sustain power. Those who themselves make the approach to the press are worse in that they delude themselves. No one can win on those terms. The terms have to be ours and ours alone.

Tom Inglewood

LETTERS

HOME OF THE BRAVE

Dear Ones,

On July 2, we went to the Bay Area on vacation. We left behind a hot, humid, depressed deep South for a cool, dry, progressive West. We looked forward to it being easier to be interracial, lesbians, activists. We looked forward to being with friends and loved ones we had been missing dearly.

Two days before we were to return home, July 10, I (Andrea) met an old friend. She told me of the lynching of a Black woman, Jacqueline Peters, who was her close friend. She told me how Jacqueline was a writer, an activist, how she worked for a conservation paper, how alive she was. She told me how she and Jacqueline had been working on starting a local NAACP chapter in response to the lynching of a twenty-three year old Black man, Timothy Lee, in November 1985. She told me how Jacqueline had been investigating Timothy Lee's lynching, how they both had gone door to door in the neighbourhood where he was lynched, looking for someone, anyone, who knew something, saw something. She told me that one woman said that she had heard screaming, saw hooded figures, the police.

Through her tears she told me about Jacqueline's funeral, how she still could not believe that her friend was gone. She told me how Jacqueline laughed and talked, how much she loved her husband and her family. She spoke like Jacqueline did and gestured like Jacqueline did to show me how funny, human, loving, sane, concerned a Black woman, wife, friend she was.

My friend told me how she went to the lynching place as soon as she heard, saw them taking Jacqueline's body down. She said she had never seen a lynched person before but she had seen pictures. She said that Jacqueline's head was bent very slightly forward, her eyes and mouth were closed, her face set. She said that she did not hang like the Black men and women in the pictures where their eyes bulged, their tongues outside their mouths, their necks at that funny angle. My friend believed deeply that Jacqueline was dead when she was placed in an olive tree in the back parking lot of Lloyds' Bank in Lafayette, California.

My friend said that she looked at trees differently now, she always saw her mother, or daughter, Black men and women, lesbians, gays, hanging, even in the most innocent looking trees. She said that she looked at white people differ-ently, like she was seeing them for the first time, not out of fear, but a detached and dispassionate curiosity, saying to them in her mind, who are you? are you human? are you sane? are you secretly plotting my death with a gang of your hooded friends, though you smile at me, as I stare at you, as we pass in the Lafayette BART station?

My friend told me that she went to Lafayette again the next day to leave flowers at the olive tree. She ate leaves from the tree and prayed. Others had come and left red streamers in the tree and flowers hanging upside down in the branches. She went again and again and each time the steamers were gone the flowers were gone. She felt watched, but she went anyway.

My friend told me when she became totally afraid. A suicide note was produced, stories circulated that Jacqueline was depressed and crazy. The official cause of her death was listed as suicide and her case was closed. My friend fled her home, went into hiding, to search and work toward the truth without being an easy target.

We were finally parting. In my palm lay a piece of bark my friend had taken from an olive tree in Lafayette, California. I promised that I would go to that tree, bring flowers, pray, that I would not forget, that I would not believe suicide if she would die.

I went home to Diana and told her all I had heard, showed her the piece of bark still in the palm of my hand. I told her that I was going to Lafayette in the morning, wanted us to go.

We talked, trembled, held each other close, rejoicing in our living, mourning a Black woman and man dead, our friend and sister in hiding, searching for the who, the why, the truth confirmed.

On the morning of July 11, we rose early and went into the lush garden of friends whose home we were staying in. We chose with care fat burgundy and white roses in fullest bloom, gladioluses, deep golden apricot, tall delicate poppies and fresh mint. We brought with us sage and cedar and prayers. We called a friend to alert a trusted one of our journey and intention, a frail but mighty precaution.

The Berkeley hills were filled with still green trees, blooming shrubs and flowers, the day was so gorgeous, an utter contradiction. We drove through the Caldecott Tunnel and into central Lafayette. Following the directions we were given, we turned right on Mount Diablo Boulevard and left, into the back parking lot of Lloyds' Bank .

We looked for an olive tree in an L-shaped island. We saw it immediately, but we did not believe that this small tree could possibly be a lynching tree. We drove on surveying all possibilities, finally returning to the little tree knowing. Our knowing was confirmed by two bouquets of fading yellow roses hanging upside down : the branches. We circled the tree, scattering the sage and cedar at the base among the munipers growing there, and placed the flowers in the crook of the trees lowest arm. We watched. We imagined her hanging, imagined from which branch she swung, saw her body lying this way or that across the lower branches, saw a dark stain on the bark.

We were watched. We were afraid. We determined never to forget this tree and the woman who was lynched here. We returned to the car, held each other for a moment, and left the parking lot.

Lafayette was busy in a leisurely, affluent kind of way. Sparkling Mercedes's, BMW's, sleek four-wheel drives, chic Kawasakis were on their way to the bank, the coffee houses, the country club. The BART station parking lot was swollen with the cars of commuters, waiting for their return from San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley. We had come only ten minutes from South Berkeley.

We were afraid when we went to Lafayette. We shook with fear knowing we were being watched. We were afraid as we imagined her/them surrounded by hooded figures, beaten? raped? mutilated? terrified and alone.

We are still afraid, safe at home, behind locked doors, while the Aryan Brotherhood is meeting in Idaho and their 'Liberty Net' is spreading their message of hatred of peoples of colour, lesbians, gays, Jews, immigrants and using computers to track the living and work places of our peoples. We are afraid as we remember Richmond, Soweto, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Chile. . .

We have decided to be afraid and speak and do something.

In care and concern,
Andrea and Diana,
P.O. Box 791058,
New Orleans, Louisiana 70179-1058
USA.

Origins Of The Black Flag

Dear Black Flag,

Just saw issue 166, and noticed the discussion about the origins of the red and black flags. The Black Flag as a sym-bol of revolt was well established long before the 1780 Gordon riots (so, incid-entally, was wrecking prisons, a major feature of the 1381 Peasants Revolt amongst others). Rioting and 'social crime' were widespread in 18th century Europe and there are countless references to the use of Black Flags by rioters, smugglers, bandits, peasant 'terrorists' etc both here and abroad. Popular unrest isn't as well documented in earlier times, but I've seen references to black flags in 17th century enclosure riots and the Tudor revolts.

The best known historical Black Flag is, of course, the Jolly Roger. Pirates pre-sumably favoured it because of its tradit-ional associations (piracy was riddled with rebellious overtures — in Madagascar they set up what was in effect an anarch-ist republic). Incidentally, the skull and crossbones was not an essential feature of the pirate flag, nor was it their ex-clusive symbol, it sometimes appeared (and still does!) on the Black Flags of other rebels too.

The symbolism seems obvious to me. In European culture black symbolises death. The associated use of the skull and crossbones surely makes this explicit. In one account I've seen pirates were there described as running up a Black Flag 'as a sign no quarter would be given'.

The Red Flag presumably symbolises blood and fire — though nowadays embarrassment would seem more appropr-iate — and it has no such illustrious ancestry. It seems to have slowly edged itself in sometime in the late 18th cent-ury. That the good old Black Flag should



have become associated with anarchism and the newer (and perhaps slightly more respectable) Red Flag with socialism surely speaks volumes about both movements,

Paul Roberts

LETTERS IN BRIEF

THE WESTMINSTER FARCE

Dear Friends,

Having attended the last 'Stop the Westmi-nster Gasworks' in Oct 86 I wondered whether it is worth doing another similar day of action at the next Parliamentary opening. If it was nationally publicised (and earlier than last time) we might see a more effective action.

Whatever happened on the day, it would be good to have large numbers of anarcho-types wandering around Westminster—similar to the old style Stop the City, causing problems. The details, obviously, don't matter at the moment: it could be an annual(?) protest which could end up with massive arrests and a lot of hassle.

If we started the idea early we could give people and the Anarchist press time to organise support locally . The first had the makings of a great event. I think it has poten-tial. What do you think?

Alec

LIVERPOOL ANARCHISTS

Dear Black Flag,

We are writing to let people know of the re-emergence of a Liverpool Anarch-ist group, which can be contacted at:

PO Box 110, L69 6AU Merseyside.

We would welcome contact, literature and general information from other groups/individuals, especially in the Merseyside area.

Cheers,
LAG

LETTER

What a fine writer you've got in MT. All of his/her stuff has been thoughtful, lucid and inter-esting. I particularly liked the piece on the par-allels between modern and concentration camp existence - it's rare that a piece in a pol-itical magazine can be moving - and the two-part article on anarchism and general attitu-des to politics. I hope there will be more of the latter kind, which actually dare to ask why re-volutionary thinking and activity is so rare. So good on you for printing it and MT for writing it.

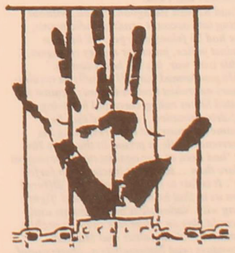
Adrian Janes.

FROM AN AMERICAN PRISON

Greetings from Dachau!

The latest edition of the Flag arrived today and as usual it was excellent. We have so very little to look forward to, I wish I could tell you how much it means to us to hear of the struggle through the eyes of our comrades instead of the lying capitalist media. The time they've forced on us is being spent in study, discussion and preparation for the future. Hopefully if and when they decide to release us we can be an asset to the anti-authoritarian resistance. I won't cry to you about the conditions here in gaol - I'm sure you're all well aware of the anti-human environment that exists in Amerika's prisons. I just wanted to thank you for the breath of freedom that the Flag brings with it, and salute your valiant efforts.

For international solidarity,
Phillip Brown. Michigan.



LETTERS

Dear Friends,

If you don't like using sexist language, why spoil yourself with speciesist language? The current Flag front page has two headlines Bully Fighting in Spain (which plays on the idea of bullfighting, the disgrace of all Spani-ards) and 'King Rat Trapped'. The rat has many qualities, why give the name to a fascist?

Oliver

Editorial comment: Sexist language may offend humans, 'speciesism' is a weasel (ouch) word which doesn't offend animals. Everyone knows what is meant in the English language by a 'rat'—if we have said 'Human trapped' it would have been misunde-rstood. 'All' Spaniards are not disgraced by bullfig-hting since almost all progressive Spaniards have opposed it for 150 years (read *Blood and Sand*) but as 'bully fighting' referred to attacks on the Guardia Civil, we must confess that, like a lot of Spanish folk, we would gladly patronise, or fight the queue to participate in, a corrida where these enemies of the people were baited with darts and pricked with explosives and ran round maddened desperately dodging the inevitable kill.

THANK YOU AND GOODBYE

A hate note from 'the Land of the Great Shaitan', postmarked New York, and suppos-edly signed by 'Hakim Bey' (pull the other leg) for the 'Association for Ontological Anarchy" (they did too!) purporting to be 'care of' Autonomedia, Box 268, Brooklyn, gloats on what it's going to do to our 'collec-tive graves'. Ontological they may be—(an ontological argument is that the existence of the idea of God proves the existence of God —which sounds a bit off-the-logical to us)—anarchists they ain't. As to what they are, may be suggested by the 'collective graves' bit—'it's never too wide, never too far From the guru to the commissar' (Ludwig Gans). Take care of them, indeed, anarchists in New York.